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SOME EVIDENCE FOR EARLY ROMANTIC PLAYS IN ENGLAND¹

I

In a review of Chambers' *Mediaeval Stage* in the *Scottish Historical Review*,² Miss Bateson has noted that the London chronicle found in manuscript E. 5. 9 of Trinity College, Dublin, records the performance of plays of "Eglemour and Degrebelle" and of "a knight cleped fflorence" near London in 1444. Miss Bateson's is, I believe, the first notice of these plays, and, so far as I know, the significance of the discovery has not yet been discussed. A record, however, of two English plays before 1450 apparently dealing with secular romantic themes seems to me a matter of more than passing interest to students of the early drama.

The chronicle referred to has recently been published by Ralph Flenley in *Six Town Chronicles of England*. Flenley points out³ that the manuscript, which gives no hint as to authorship, is clearly identical with one described in some detail by John Bale in the 1557 edition of his *Catalogus* and there ascribed to Robert Bale. John Bale mentions this manuscript as one of many works left by him when he fled from Ireland after the accession of Mary. The chronicle as printed covers the years 16-38 of Henry VI's reign, or 1437-60, and, as Flenley shows, from 1439 on gives every indication of being a contemporary and independent account of the events recorded.

Bale's only notice of plays is in two successive entries under 22 Henry VI (1443-44):⁴

Item this yer was at seint albons the last of Juyn a play of Eglemour and Degrebelle.

Item the moneth of August was a play at Bermonsey of a knight cleped fflorence.

¹ In this paper the term "romantic" is used in a rather broad sense to include forms of plays that might better be called romanesque, and the terms "folk" and "popular" are often applied to what had a vogue among classes of people not controlled by the critical standards of their age.

I am indebted to Professors Manly and Nitze for some valuable references and suggestions.

² I, 405, n. 1.

³ Pp. 67 ff.

⁴ Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 117.

It seems clear, as Flenley points out in a footnote, that the first play is a version of the romance of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, Eglamour having a son named Degrabell. In regard to *A knight cleped fflorrence*, Miss Bateson queries, "Was this that Florent or Flormond of Albanye whose romance is named in the Complaynte of Scotland?" For two reasons the identification seems questionable. The name in the old French romances is "Florimont,"¹ and in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548, "Floremond of Albanye." Evidence for the form "Florent" is apparently lacking except in the phrase "great Florent of Albanie" in *Roswall and Lillian*, 1663, which comes more than two centuries after Bale's record of the play and may represent a corruption of the name, as other names in this late romance appear to have been corrupted. In the second place, if the play was drawn from the romance suggested by Miss Bateson, we should expect, I think, the descriptive "of Albanye" in Bale's record. On the ground that from Florice or Florian to Florence "is not a far cry for a fifteenth century writer," Flenley conjectures that the second play is a version of "Florice et Blanchfleur." As a matter of fact, the form "Florence" does occur in this very romance. The Trentham MS² about 1440 has *Florence and Blancheffloure* as a title in the headlines, though the name used in the story is usually Floris and only occasionally Florence. This is the only romance known to me in which Florence rather than Florent is employed as the masculine form of the name, but the point is probably without value since both Florent and Florence would be natural forms of the French word. Moreover, the story of Floris and Blancheffleur seems to have been one of the romantic themes dramatized early in Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany.³ On the other hand, the hero and heroine are so commonly associated in the titles of the various versions of this romance that the presumption seems to me against Bale's omitting Blancheffleur's name if the play at Bermondsey had been founded on the story of Floris and Blancheffleur.

Another possible source of the play is the romance of *Octavian*. Octavian's wife is named Florence and one of his twin sons Florent.

¹ Ward, *Cat. Romances*, I, 156-60.

² *EETS*, XIV (1901).

³ Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 330, for an Italian play; I, 373, for a play in the Netherlands in 1483; and III, 424, for Hans Sachs's play.

A play founded on this tale, especially if the part of the son Florent were emphasized, might well be called simply the play of "a knight cleped fflorrence." A version of the romance is found in the same fifteenth-century manuscript¹ with one of the early versions of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The Octavian story is like *Eglamour* in the main conventions—of a lady cast away, of sons carried off as babes by monsters or beasts, of the sons' glorious career in knighthood, and of the final reunion of the family. With different names for the characters, the story was dramatized in the fourteenth-century French *Miracle de Notre Dame* (XXXII of the Cangé MS) called *Le Roi Thierry et Osanne*, and the popularity of such motives in English plays is amply attested. The "Play of Placidus,"² acted at Braintree in 1534, and the later *Fair Constance of Rome*, in two parts, written for Henslowe in 1600–1601, must have followed the same romance conventions,³ while the immensely popular *Pericles* of the late sixteenth century is similar to these legends, with a daughter substituted for a son. Separate motives of the story occur repeatedly, of course, in the Elizabethan drama.

But if Bale was giving the exact title of the play rather than his own statement of its theme, the most probable source, to my mind, is the "Tale of Florent" in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.⁴ According to Gower's description, the hero is simply a "worthi knyht," nephew of an unnamed emperor, and "Florent he hihte." The title used by Bale may have been drawn from Gower's phrase. There is at least no other character in the tale who would naturally be associated with Florent in a title. Not only was Gower's work well known in the fifteenth century, but this particular story—most familiar to us through Chaucer's *Tale of the Wyf of Bathe* and *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*—was one of the most popular mediaeval

¹ Caligula A ii. Cf. Ward, *Cat. Romances*, I, 762, and Weber, *Metrical Romances*, III, 157–239.

² Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 342.

³ Cf. Gerould, "The Eustace Legend," *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, XII (1904), 436 ff. The Constance saga was dramatized in No. XXIX of the Cangé MS, *La Fille du Roi de Hongrie*. Gerould makes the adventures of the wives in *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and Octavian versions of the "Calumniated Wife" motive (most widely known to English students through the Constance saga), and the adventures of the son or sons in both direct derivatives from the Eustace, or Placidus, legend. He considers the Apollonius story unrelated to these (p. 340).

⁴ Book I, ll. 1407 ff.

stories in England. Shakspeare in the line from *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, 2, 69),

Be she as foul as was Florentius' love,

must be glancing at a version of Gower's form of the story. That the tale could readily be dramatized is shown by the fact that Fletcher in *Women Pleased* successfully used it as given by Chaucer.¹

In regard to the nature of the plays mentioned by Bale, Flenley says that they "would seem to be mediaeval romances" and "strictly speaking were not plays at all." His discussion shows that he takes them to be minstrel recitals. It is possible that these performances were dramatic recitals of the romances, such as I conceive the performance before the Scottish king in 1497 to have been, when "twa fithelaris . . . Sang Gray Steil to the king";² but this does not seem probable. There is also a possibility that they were processions, or pageants, and represented some type of midsummer show such as is recorded at Chester, perhaps with speeches of presenters to give a semblance of the dramatic to the performance, as was often the case in pageants. But I see no reason why "play" as used by Bale at this period should not be taken to refer to an actual dramatic performance. *Eglemour and Degrebelle* and *A knight cleped fflorence* were probably regular plays for midsummer festivals, taking the place that the mysteries had held in so many of these festivals.

Before evidence is presented which seems to me to support this view, the possibility that the plays were not secular but were Miracles of the Virgin is to be considered. *A knight cleped fflorence* presented at Bermondsey in the "moneth of August" may have celebrated the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15. The *Eglemour and Degrebelle* at St. Albans "the last of Juyn" was probably presented at the midsummer festival of St. John and St. Peter and perhaps under the auspices of some church. I have already referred to the dramatization of the Octavian theme in the Miracles de Notre Dame. Gower's tale could doubtless have been changed into a miracle as readily as a story of the Eglamour or Octavian type. But, to my mind, the significant thing is the dramatization of romances so early in the history of English drama, whatever moral tone may have been given to the ending. The material was secular and

¹ Fletcher's play, indeed, may have been based on an older one.

² Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, 342.

romantic, and, if a miracle of the Virgin was added, it probably affected the type of play no more than Dekker's moralization of *Old Fortunatus*.

II

Evidence supporting the possibility of such romantic plays in England, both secular and miracle, as early as the fifteenth century may be drawn from continental literature. Dutch romantic and chivalric plays must have been fairly frequent in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Those of which we have record are especially worth mention because they are apparently independent of religious performance or motivation for their production. Three from the early part of the fifteenth century are extant—*Esmoreit*, *Gloriant*, and *Lanseloet*,¹ and records exist showing the performance of plays dealing with Arnoute, Ronchevale, Florys and Blanchefloor, and Gryselle.² For France, the plays of Adam de la Halle in the thirteenth century and the supposed play of *Robin et Marion* performed as part of an annual celebration at Angers in the fourteenth century³ are noteworthy instances of early secular drama. The *Estoire de Griseldis*, belonging to the last decade of the fourteenth century, is another romantic drama that does not conform to the miracle type. The Miracles de Notre Dame, however, in the same century contain a number of romantic plays, and it is possible that in some of these we have merely the usual Christian turn given by the church to whatever had a hold on the people.⁴ There was at

¹ Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 367 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 373.

³ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 324, 325.

⁴ A few early records may indicate a romantic drama. Such are the "ludus de quodam homine salvatico" at Padua in 1208, the play of the wild man in Aaran in 1339, the "ludus cum gigantibus" at Padua in 1224 (Creizenach, I, 378), and "la fieste des enfans Aymery de Narbonne" in Lille in 1351 (*ibid.*, p. 376). Whether there was anything more dramatic indicated by these records than the elaborate disguisings and processions of festival occasions, it would be impossible to say. It must be remembered in connection with such records and many others of festival celebrations to be noted later (1) that by the thirteenth century a very decided growth of a feeling for genuine drama which might readily extend to any popular motive is indicated by the expansion of biblical plays and the development of farce, and (2) that our knowledge of mediaeval pageantry and our lack of information about mediaeval plays may be due to a general attitude in the Middle Ages, surviving in the Renaissance, which even as late as the seventeenth century made English masques and pageants preferable to plays of the period as a subject of literary gossip and of chroniclers' records. Nichols' elaborate volumes, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* and *The Progresses of King James*, will bear me out, I believe. All that we can say with any assurance, however, is that the records referred to above indicate a very great age for some of the conventions met later in festival forms of disguising and play.

least small chance for the preservation of romantic plays not so adapted. But, whether miracles of this type imply an antecedent secular drama or not, they furnish important evidence that by the end of the fourteenth century a taste for romantic and chivalric tales in dramatic form had developed in portions of the Continent contiguous to England.

Further, the contact between the English people and the neighboring peoples of continental Europe must at least have been close enough to account for a common type of romantic drama as well as for common ballad and story types. From the time of the Crusades until the Reformation, the Catholic church made of Western Europe, in a certain sense, one community. Members of the clerical classes passed freely from one country to another, often residing for long periods in other countries than their own; and traveling scholars and priests were not always unmindful of the joys of song, dance, and drama. For the upper and middle classes pilgrimages to foreign shrines afforded means of contact with other peoples. Minstrels, too, were more or less cosmopolitan. And even at that time undoubtedly one of the most powerful agents for broadening provincial horizons was commerce. The numerous great fairs of England and continental Europe probably drew tradesmen from foreign parts at every period; and the merchant adventurers of England had communities in every busy foreign mart from early times. Long before the Reformation the jealousy of London tradesmen was aroused by the number of foreign workers in London. Caxton's supposed descent from Flemish settlers in England and his long residence in the Low Countries are well known to us merely because of Caxton's later fame. The vast number of English soldiers, gentlemen, and servants who had occasion to reside in France for long periods, and the lingering dominance of French culture in England until the end of the fifteenth century, need only to be mentioned. For some centuries before the Renaissance, contact of Englishmen of all classes with the customs and culture of the neighboring nations must have been intimate.

It would be strange, then, if such a drama-loving people as the English did not know every form of dramatic amusement popular on the Continent, and imitate all to some extent at least. Consequently, I see not the slightest need of explaining away Bale's use

of the word play. The existence of the fragment *Dux Moraud* may be taken as some indication that England had an early share in the continental movement. I have no doubt that other romantic plays besides those mentioned by Bale—perhaps earlier ones—existed in England, both secular plays and miracles.

Certainly there is evidence for an amount of dramatic activity in England before the Renaissance which, in comparison with the meager remains of the drama, makes it clear that much romantic drama could have existed without any specimen's surviving. Even the records of the religious drama have been poorly preserved, and no known manuscript fragment remains of the great passion plays of London, of the St. George plays acted all over England for a long period, or—except in *Dux Moraud*, probably a fragment of a Miracle of the Virgin—of the English miracles that must have existed in numbers for centuries. There is no indication that in the Middle Ages plays were regarded anywhere in Europe as literature for reading. Apparently the copies of plays preserved were, with few exceptions, manuscripts used by companies, guilds, etc., in connection with the actual performance of plays. Many such manuscripts preserved in church archives and many records of performances were probably destroyed by the Puritans, who would have been inclined to show little mercy to the romantic drama. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that conditions in the early Renaissance were more favorable to the preservation of romantic plays. Erasmus, Vives, Ascham, and other humanists have left expressions of their contempt for popular literature and for romances in particular.

How small a proportion of mediaeval drama has survived may be gathered from the records, meager as the records are themselves. Thus, rivalry in dramatic performance had developed fully enough in 1378 for the scholars of St. Paul's to petition Richard II "to prohibit some unexpert people from representing the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the said Clergy, who have been at great expence in order to represent it publicly at Christmas."¹

¹ Chambers, II, 380. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 190, for secular performances at Exeter in 1348, which were to be given "in Theatro nostrae Civitatis." Chambers considers this an allusion to a "regular theatre." Parish houses for entertainments were perhaps not unusual in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; cf. Hobhouse, *Church-Wardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Soc., pp. xxi f. At Durham Priory in 1465 there was a room called "le Playerchambre" (Chambers, II, 244).

The records of Lydd and New Romney in Kent and the account book of Sir John Howard of Essex show that during the last three-quarters of the fifteenth century there were at least twenty different towns or villages in Kent and Essex with companies of players who traveled to some extent.¹ For the region of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, the Maxstoke Priory accounts show payments sometime during the reign of Henry VI to "lusores" and "mimi" from the companies of six different noblemen and from a number of villages, including Coventry, for which there are six entries mentioning three different types of performers.² Between 1457 and 1467 the wardens of Harling, Norfolk, made payments for the "Lopham game," the "Garblesham game," and the "Kenningale game," and again to the "Kenyngale players."³ If these regions were typical of the rest of England, it is fairly evident that in addition to guilds performing mysteries and moralities regularly in most large towns, there were companies of players in a great number of the smaller villages.

In the matter of positive evidence for the existence of romantic drama before the Renaissance, the records are very scattering, and are often confusing because of a looseness in the use of terms at the period when pageantry either was predominant or, on account of its occasional character, was noticed by chroniclers almost to the exclusion of drama. Early secular drama of which there is record seems to be have belonged to conventions and traditions in many cases centuries old and common to the various countries of Europe—traditions very largely those of pageantry, a subject which has been so ably studied by Chambers. It seems worth while, however, to present the case for the development of festival celebrations into the definite form of romantic drama with dialogue and plot before the rise of the romantic drama of Elizabeth's reign. My survey, then, will take the form of indicating the evidence for the persistence of certain conventional types in romantic drama, especially the types common to the traditions of England and France. The exact period

¹ Chambers, II, 255-56, 383, and 385-86.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 244-45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 368. Game seems to be a favorite term for drama in this region. At Bungay, Suffolk, where biblical plays were established, we hear of the "game-book" in 1526, and of the "game gear" and "interlude and game booke" in 1558. At Yarmouth there was "a game played on Christmas day," 1493, and in 1538 a "game-house" for "interludes or plays" was erected (Chambers, II, 343, 399, 190, 191).

at which these various types arose cannot be determined, for the period at which they are found flourishing may be a late one in the actual history of the species, inasmuch as the evidence is often drawn from folk customs and traditions. So far as I can determine the order of their origin, there seems to have been some definite advance from (1) the simple song and wooing drama of May games and folk-festivals, in which pastourelle motives are frequent, to (2) the clerkly or literary eclogue drama as a supplement to the first type, and to (3) drama developed from other festival traditions of the people, till finally (4) love allegory and mythological motives took on dramatic form among the upper classes. Perhaps the metrical romance plays of the Low Countries in the fifteenth century and of England in the year 1444 are to be taken as indicating the extension of festival pageantry to include formal drama.

The first form of this mediaeval drama is found in the wooing song and May game. Probably long before we get definite evidence for romantic drama, popular dance songs for spring festivals had clear dramatic form both among the common people and among the upper classes.¹ From a fairly early time the pastourelle motives in wooing drama can be traced. Jeanroy² has given the evidence for the derivation of the pastourelles from folk dialogue songs, and has discussed the courtly dialogues of the type. In the *Tournois de Chauvenci* of the thirteenth century, there is a description of a courtly garland or wooing dance that was pure song drama.³ The plays of Adam de la Halle are probably adaptations of this type of drama for

¹ Jeanroy and Gaston Paris cite the wooing pastorals of Theocritus in connection with the pastourelle dialogues. Vitruvius describes for his third kind of drama besides tragedy and comedy the type of setting that meets us all the way through mediaeval ason festivals: "Satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topiorum speciem deformatis" (Marsan, *La Pastorale Dramatique en France à la fin du XVI^e et au commencement du XVII^e siècle*, p. 2, n. 1). References to amatory songs in the church prohibitions of festival dance through the Dark Ages may be directed against wooing drama in the spring arbors. Cf., for instance, the quotations in Warren's "Romance Lyric," etc., *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVI (1911), 280-314; and Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, 161 ff. and 169 ff. The first records after the Dark Ages show the same customs, whether a continuation or a revival. The account of song and wooing dance given in *Ruodlieb*, VIII, 43-55, ca. 1000, furnishes a description very similar to those of later festival wooing songs that are song drama, though dialogue is not indicated in *Ruodlieb*. Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au Moyen-Age*, 1021., cites Papias' definition in the eleventh century of *Scaena* as "Umbraculum ubi poetae recitabant," and presents a case for arbor drama in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de la Feuillée*, etc.

² *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Cf. also Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1892, 155 ff. and 407 ff.

³ Bédier, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15, 1906, 402-6.

somewhat formal court presentation, but in the later *Robin et Marion* mentioned at Angers in 1392 as a yearly game or play of the people similar material in all likelihood reappeared in folk-form. The *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* seems to be an early English adaptation of the wooing drama to an intrigue plot. The similarity to popular song drama seen in the wooing element is emphasized by the use of the name Malkyn for the girl. Another early English specimen in pure dialogue but without names of the characters is preserved in the song, "My dep y loue, my lyf ich hate," found in Harleian MS 2253, dating from about 1300.¹ In 1447 a payment was made at York to "ij ludentibus Joly Wat and Malkyn."² This play was probably a song drama or short interlude dealing with pastoral lovers. Malkin is an English variant of Marion, and Wat may be either a survival of the shepherd Guatier met in *Robin et Marion* or an English substitute for Robin.³ A milkmaid taking the place of the shepherdess of the pastourelles appears in a pure dialogue song probably as old as the fifteenth century at least, "Hey, troly, loly, lo; made, whether go you?"⁴ Not only was this same song popular in the Elizabethan period,⁵ but scores of versions have been collected in modern folk-songs, usually with echoes of the wording of the old dialogue. I have, indeed, two accounts of the performance of a version of the song as a dramatic dialogue in America in recent years.⁶ Another song, probably of the fifteenth century, beginning,

A robyn gentyl robyn
tel me how thy leman doth,

¹ Bölddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen*, pp. 172, 173.

² Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxxviii.

³ Joly Wat and Mall appear in a shepherd group in a Christmas carol, probably of the fifteenth century (Flügel, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 117, 118, and 431). I doubt whether the detached entry to only two players at York would have been for a *Pastores*, as Flügel assumes.

⁴ Add. MS 31922; *Anglia*, XII, 255, 256; Padelford, *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 84-86.

⁵ Gaytoun, *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 271, refers to a dramatic piece called *The Merry Milkmaids*, which was possibly a jig. There are many other indications of the vogue of the milkmaid in popular literature.

⁶ Here and in a number of other cases I mention instances of folk-survivals to modern times because I believe that they are usually due to an extensive vogue in mediaeval times. Particularly do I believe that the survivals of forms of folk-drama indicate an exceedingly strong hold among the people, usually before the origin of the Puritan attacks on drama.

is a pure dialogue in its several versions.¹ Henryson's "Robene and Makyne," a pastourelle, was clearly based on folk-songs of the type, and the large amount of dialogue may indicate derivation from song drama. *The Black Man*, an old jig, translated into Dutch before 1633² and preserved in Kirkman's *The Wits* of 1672, has a plot much like Adam de la Halle's *Robin et Marion*, though it is not a pastoral. It was probably derived from traditional versions of the Robin and Marian material. Chambers' theory that the Robin Hood and Marian of the May games and morris are due to a fusion of the pastoral Robin with Robin Hood seems to me sound. Wooing scenes in the Robin Hood plays probably survived from old Robin and Marian plays of spring festivals. Such an inference seems to me justified by the presence of a wooing scene in the Robin Hood sections of *Edward I*, and by a reference in *Pasquill and Marforius* to the fool's dancing around Maid Marian to court her.³

I have dealt chiefly with the tradition of pastoral lovers because of its continuity. Among other types, one notable theme is furnished by "The Nut Brown Maid"—probably also of the fifteenth century—in which the first stanzas declare the purpose of the singers to act parts. Another dramatic version of the same theme is the poem called "A Iigge" in the Percy Folio MS.⁴ A more elaborate form of wooing drama is found in the mummers' plays, as in the second part of the *Revesby Play* and in the Lincolnshire Plough Monday plays, whose wooing scenes almost certainly go back to the mediaeval spring festival. This wooing drama is very probably reflected in the numerous burlesques of peasants' wooing preserved in mediaeval

¹ *Anglia*, XII, 241, 242, and XVIII, 487, 488. It is sung by Feste in *Twelfth Night*, IV, 2.

Earlier references to such songs are found in *Romaunt of the Rose*, 1.7455 (a translation from the French), "of the daunce Joly Robin"; and in *Troilus and Cresseyde*, Book V, stanza 168, "From hasel-wode, ther Joly Robin pleyde." A line of a song of the type is preserved in a MS of the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh (quoted in Ritson, *Robin Hood*, 1832, I, cxxiii), "Jolly Robin goe to the green wood to thy lemman." The tune, "My Robin Is to the Greenwood Gone; or Bonny Sweet Robin," is mentioned frequently in the Elizabethan period, and many copies of the music are preserved. Cf. Chappell, *Old English Popular Music*, pp. 233, 234.

² Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Komödianten*, pp. 28-30.

³ McKerrow, *Works of Nashe*, I, 83.

⁴ Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS*, II, 334 ff. Similar treatments of woman's loyalty to love are frequent in the broadside ballads, often in pure dialogue form.

farce.¹ The earliest bit of such farce found in Great Britain occurs in the Induction to Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, where the characters are virtually the same as in the wooing part of the *Revesby Play*, and the spirit of treatment is very similar, though an intrigue plot is used.

As a whole, the song drama, developing probably from the sacred marriage and love ritual of the spring fertilization festivals in pagan times, while it has left numerous dialogue songs even in early periods, seldom developed into a formal type of drama. Perhaps somewhat more formal and less purely of the people than the wooing drama were the French *bergerie* and the English folk-pastoral, which may represent a literary development of the *pastourelle* motives, perhaps at times under the influence of the classical eclogue. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, at any rate, eclogue drama seems to have existed in England along with the older spring wooing songs, and there are evidences of such drama on the Continent much earlier than in England. In *Griseldis*, the unique secular play of France left to us from the fourteenth century, two shepherds appear in three scenes.² One of the shepherds is fired to ambition by the rise of *Griseldis*, while the other is content with the shepherd's estate and the shepherd's love-making. The last dialogue of the two closes the play. A farce from the latter half of the fifteenth century, *Bergerie nouvelle fort joyeuse et morale de Mieux-que-devant*, also has shepherd scenes.³ There are early records of a number of performances in France which are interesting in this connection. In April, 1485, a bourgeois produced before Charles VIII at Rouen a play that "estoit une matiere faicte sur pastoureries et estoit une function traictée sur bucoliques."⁴ Before Queen Anne there was given at Nantes in 1498 "une pastorale dans un bocage artificiel dressé exprès," and at Dinan in 1505 "vint au devant d'elle environ demie lieu une bergere fort joyeuse à la collaudation de ladicte dame,

¹ Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte d. n. Dramas*, I, 412, 418, 420, 421, 424; II, 188 ff., etc.

² Mr. D. D. Griffith called my attention to this fact.

³ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 179-81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 346. In 1468, a dwarf representing a *bergère* rode a great lion of gold and sung a rondeau in honor of "la belle bergère" in a pageant before Margaret of England at Bruges. Cf. F. Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique*, p. 5.

faicte de hault stille et jouée a ladvenant pars gens de sorte."¹ At Le Mans, May 2, 1507, was performed a "farce moralisée de pastoureaux"; and a number of *bergeries* were produced in the next twenty-five years in various parts of France.² One of these was played at the French court. In June, 1527, before the King at Paris, according to an account by an Englishman, Viscount Lisle, there "was a play of shepherds which brought in the Ruin of Rome."³ Jean Bouchet at the end of the fifteenth century describes such pastimes:

Nous prenions vestemens de pastours
Et jouyons en très joyeux atours
Pour passe temps, satyres, *bergeries*,
Et faisions tout plain de mommeries;
J'entends es jours que l'escole cessoit
Et que chacun ses ébats pourchassoit.⁴

After the middle of the sixteenth century a number of French pastorals, *bergeries*, or eclogues, chiefly for courtly presentation, appeared in print.⁵ Much material of the type had also appeared in Italy and Spain.⁶ Indeed, before the end of the century the records of eclogue drama become fairly numerous in Italy.⁷

¹ Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, pp. 262-63. Savage men, wood-woses, etc., in similar rôles were very common in the *masques* and *pageants* of the Tudors, especially in those devised for the flattery of Queen Elizabeth, where shepherds also appear.

² Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 359, 374, 375; Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1; Creizenach, III, 38, 39.

³ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, IV, 1444.

⁴ Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1, and Hamon, *Jean Bouchet*, p. 6.

⁵ A long list of these is given by Marsan, pp. 174-75.

⁶ For summaries of eclogue drama in Italy and Spain, cf. Creizenach, II, 188 ff., and III, 97 ff., and Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and 70 ff. On these discussions and that of Greg noted below I have had to rely largely for my data.

⁷ Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 2 for Bellincioni's testimony to the vogue of eclogues in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century:

Altri fa Silve e son cannuce in brago,
Altre egloghe vulgari, altri latine.
Sì che Elìcona s'è già fatta un lago.

This testimony is similar to that of Bouchet for France, and the two passages suggest that only a small proportion of the work in the field, dramatic or non-dramatic, is recorded or preserved.

The most widely accepted theory is that this drama represents a new dramatic vogue in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century.¹ But the vogue was possibly due to a new impetus which the Renaissance gave to older dramatic conventions. Scattering records indicate that shepherds were not new in drama at the end of the fifteenth century; the almost simultaneous spread of eclogue drama in Spain and in various parts of Italy and France could hardly have resulted from a species invented about the time of the first records in Italy and France; and almost from the beginning the eclogue drama shows as much of the conventionality of old pastourelles and festival games as of the simpler classical pastorals. To illustrate this last point, popular origin is suggested in a dramatic eclogue described as a "festa in atti rusticali" included in Cassio da Narni's romance, *La morte del Danese*,² while "rustic pastoral" is frequently a component part of the eclogue drama.³ In a lost pastoral play performed at Bologna in 1496 the romantic giant of popular pageantry appears.⁴ "Fauns, nymphs, bears, pelicans, and wild men of the woods" are found in a play of Cavassico in 1513.⁵ Eclogue plays show other romantic features also. Particularly do they seem to echo frequently both folk wooing drama and the mediaeval love debate.⁶

No such definite evidence for the existence of an early pastoral drama of this type is obtainable for England as for France, Italy, and Spain. Still, the presence of pastoral conventions in England

¹ Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 423-43, gives an excellent summary of the discussions of the subject, and makes a strong argument for the accepted view.

² Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72, 426, 431-34, 436-39. The fact stressed by Greg, that eclogue dramas with classic form were preserved before those with popular elements are recorded, seems to me what we should expect in Italy during the early Renaissance, while the new interest of the Renaissance in secular literature and particularly in classical types like the pastoral may account for the beginning of fuller records for festival eclogue drama in both classic and popular form.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 432; D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, II, 370-72.

⁵ Greg, pp. 433, 434.

⁶ Cf. Greg, p. 431, for two plays of Caperano which are described as "medleys of pastoral amours . . . showing traces of the influence of the not yet fully developed 'rustic' eclogue"; p. 434, for the "May-day shows" with their wooings, a combination of "the courtly and the popular pastoral;" etc.

Disputations on love are described by Greg, pp. 430, 431, 435. Tansillo's *I due pellegrini*, about 1528, with its debate on the relative suffering of lovers, is suggestive in parts of Heywood's *Play of Love*. Cf. *Giornale Storico della Lett. Ital.*, XIII, 382 and Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, p. 255, for "dramatic eclogues about love" presented before a Queen of a Court of Love at Milan in 1523.

before the reign of Elizabeth, inconclusive as it is by way of evidence, seems worth noting, because pastoral conventions developing out of the simpler pastourelle song drama would most naturally be exploited in festival pastimes, where our records are scantiest. The development from the pastourelle motives that certainly existed in England in song drama to the shepherd scenes that appear in the first mythological plays as an integral part of what seems to be a traditional formula must have included dramatic pastorals—that is, if the development in England paralleled that in France. In one very early ballad, *King Edward and the Shepherd*, the name “Joly Robyn,” assumed by the King in disguise, suggests the pastourelle convention. In a long poem of the fifteenth century, *Colkelbie Sow*, shepherds, neatherds, and swineherds are satirized for their passion for disguised dances of all kinds, but in the names of several scores of their disguisings no title can be identified as that of a pastoral.¹ Perhaps the comic scenes of the Towneley *Second Shepherds’ Play* reflect the interest in the pastoral type, though connected with the regular representation of shepherds in the mysteries. The bergeret sung in *The Flower and the Leaf* (l. 348) may be significant only as showing the survival of a name among the makers of pastimes at festivals, but it testifies to the conventionality of pastoral conceptions. Early in the sixteenth century, Skelton mentions in his *Garland of Laurel* a device that he “made in disporte” of “howe iollas lould goodly phillis.” This supposed adaptation of an eclogue of Virgil may not have been dramatic, but “device” is a term commonly used in the sixteenth century for pageants, disguisings, etc., and “disport” has the same association. Shepherds appear in a disguising of 1527 described below. A pure dialogue between two shepherds—which may have been a Protestant interlude—is found in “A tale of Robin hooode, dialouge wise beetweene Watt and

¹ In *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ca. 1548, the shepherds are described as telling romantic stories, singing songs, and dancing. The tales include the chief classical stories that developed as mythological plays; some of the titles of songs suggest dialogue; and some of the names of dances may be derived from disguisings. These pieces show in the burlesque of shepherds and other hinds the satirical and farcical vein stressed by Marsan for the French *bergerie* (*op. cit.*, 132); but they also emphasize the romance of such characters while satirizing it. A more romantic use of popular festival conceptions was made, I think, by the early courtly writers who composed valentine poems and described spring festivals. The rise of farce and grotesque satire caused the same material to be developed with gross realism except in the court of love poems of the upper classes.

Jeffry."¹ Dramatic use of pastoral conventions is clearer from the time of Elizabeth. *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, a play probably belonging to the early part of her reign, contains pastoral scenes with realistic shepherds.² In 1565-66, *Lusus Pastorales* was entered on the Stationers' Register.³ A better bit of evidence is given in *A Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Stages and Theatres*,⁴ 1580, where "wanton wiues fables, and pastorical songes of loue" are mentioned as common elements in the popular plays of the period. In masques and mythological plays during the seventies and eighties of the sixteenth century, there is a considerable development of pastoral and sylvan scenes showing the traditional conventions of festival pageantry rather than the conventions of formal Renaissance pastoral.⁵

Pastoral drama also entered into the folk-repertoire at festivals, but the evidence for this development in England is late. Perdita, distributing her flowers at the sheep-shearing feast, declares:

Methinks I play as I have seen them do
In Whitsun pastorals: sure this robe of mine
Does change my disposition.⁶

Probably Perdita's distribution of flowers, and possibly Ophelia's, belong to garland customs in the spring wooing games, customs that were as old as the spring ritual.

The strongest evidence for the annual presentation at any one place of such pastorals as Perdita alludes to belongs to the Cotswold

¹ Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts*, I, 295-98. The seemingly non-dramatic dialogue *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, in which the interlocutors are the same characters, Wat and Jeffery, is called in its dedication an interlude. Jeffery was, in all probability, like Wat and Robin, a traditional figure. Cf. *Bugbears*, I, 1, 70, etc.

² This play, including the pastoral scenes, was drawn from the fifteenth-century French romance *Perceforest*, as pointed out by L. M. Ellison in his dissertation on *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*.

³ Arber's *Transcript*, I, 313.

⁴ Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 143.

⁵ Cf. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 46 ff. for the masques, and Brown, *Poems by Salisbury and Chester*, pp. 19 f., for "A poore Sheapheards introduction made in A merrimt of christmas."

⁶ Cf. *infra* for Sidney's reference to picking flowers in a garden as a detail of the typical romantic drama. In Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, ll. 279 f., there may be a reference to folk performances in the mention of shepherds' pastorals in arbors:

And arbors sweet, in which the Shepheards swaines
Were wont so oft their Pastoralls to sing.

Dialogue songs of shepherd characters were known early in the drama as in the one left from Peele's *Hunting of Cupid*.

Hills, where, in the seventeenth century at least, celebrated games were held. Complimentary poems to Dover after he had promoted the games for about forty years give the most extensive information on the subject,¹ and seem to indicate that features of the sports were dramatic. Wallington refers to "games, sports, plays, and Chivalrie."² Another passage may imply that Robin Hood games were performed.³ But apparently pastoral plays and games in varied forms, including mythological and romantic pastorals, were most popular. One of the poems in the volume is a pastoral dialogue in which Collen and Thenot praise Dover for reviving folk-festival games. Many references to shepherds' performances occur. In one poem Syrinx, the "pastorall Pipe," is made to dedicate herself to Dover, her "best dearest lover." Sanford, addressing Cotswold, declares:

You hereby doe possesse the honour'd names
Of sweet *Arcadia*, and th' *Olimpick Games*,
.
But why strive I to amplifie your pride
With these Applauds, when't cannot be deny'd,
But yee are made the Theater of *Love*
On which the *Muses* act a Scene of Love.⁴

According to Stratford,

Nymphes, *Fawnes*, and *Satyres*, *Thesally* have fled,
And pleasant *Tempe* have abandoned;
Keeping their Revells now on *Cotswold* downes,
In thy great honour, dauncing Maskes, and Rownes:
Which tunes the silvan Queristers doe sing,
By *Pan* instructed for their Revelling:
Since *Nymphes* and *Fayres* strive to grace thy playes,
I cannot but applaud them in my Layes.⁵

The romantic pastorals suggested here are also suggested by Cole, who speaks of "the swarthy Shepherd" as singing "Of loves, and

¹ These poems were published in 1638 in a volume called *Annalia Dubrensis. Vpon the yeerely celebration of Mr. Robert Dovers Olimpick Games vpon Cotswold-Hills*, which is reprinted by Grosart in his *Occasional Issues*, and in part by Lentzner in *Anglia*, XII, 401-36. The description of the games is chiefly incidental, and most of the poets emphasize features that could be compared with the Olympic games, especially racing and coursing. It is clear, however, that the folk had a large share in the games.

² P. 31.

⁴ Pp. 50-51.

³ P. 66.

⁵ P. 49.

fairly Knights."¹ Another writer, referring to the attitude of the Puritan, clearly alludes to mythological plays or disguisings:

Nor can his tender Conscience, but be grieved,
To see the old Gods, and Goddesses revived
In thy disports; And things there done in fact;
Which Poets did but fayne, and Players act.²

The poems, indeed, give sufficient indication that varied forms of pastoral drama and pageantry prevailed—dances, games, etc., as well as mythological plays or disguisings.

Clearer evidence that simple pastoral dialogues were current at Cotswold is found later in a poem, "The Cotsal Sheapheards,"³ 1667, which claims to describe "How they make love on Cotsall plain," and which has a wooing dialogue imbedded in it. "Our pastoralls in May" are mentioned in this poem. The May pastorals may represent a tradition continued from the sixteenth century, for it seems probable that the celebration of a regular festival in the region was much older than the seventeenth century.⁴ When Queen Elizabeth visited Sudeley in the same region about 1592, a masque⁵ was devised for her in which "shepheards pastimes" were to be presented, if not "too meane." This masque probably utilized shepherd figures, not alone because Sudeley was in a region of shepherds, but because such figures appeared in pastimes of the people symbolizing their calling, as Vulcan was a symbol of the gild of smiths. At any rate, after a scene presenting Apollo, Daphne, and a shepherd, it was planned that the "great Constable and commandadore of Cots-holde" "clothed all in sheepes-skins, face & all," and speaking "no language, but the Rammish tongue"—he utters only the one sound, *bea*—should introduce through an interpreter a dialogue of shepherds. The chief characters in the dialogue are Melibaeus and Nisa, to whom the lot falls to act as king and queen for the occasion, and who with the clown Cutter of Cootsholde engage in *demandes d'amour* in the form of riddles.⁶ A love song is sung at the command of the

¹ P. 46.

² P. 64.

³ Included in *Folly in Print*. Cf. Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, II, 323–26.

⁴ Cf. Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, I, 252, 253, for various bits of evidence that the games were known before the seventeenth century. Cf., also, *Annalia Dubrensis*, p. 17.

⁵ Printed in 1592. Cf. *Works of Lyly*, ed. Bond, I, 477–84.

⁶ Cf. the accounts of early eclogue drama above and of the riddles in marriage drama below.

shepherd queen. Perhaps it was due to the association of pastorals with Cotswold that Drayton introduced into his ninth eclogue a gathering of shepherds on the Cotswold, where several pastoral dialogues are sung at the command of the festival King of Shepherds. In the seventeenth century, however, pastoral dialogues, rather widely distributed in the form of eclogues, madrigals, and broadsides, enjoyed a vogue among the people and also at the court, where they were often sung before the Stuart kings. One dramatic piece, Cox's pastoral droll *Diphilo and Granida*, published in the seventeenth century but probably using older material, is worth special mention because it survives in part in a traditional Somersetshire mummers' play collected by Hunter in 1822.¹ Enough has been said to indicate that folk pastoral drama may have been of considerably greater age and extent than dramatic records show.

There are indications, also, that festival plays took other forms than that of the pastoral. The Robin Hood plays so widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in May games—the only Robin Hood plays published in the sixteenth century are described on the title-page as for “Maye games”—represent an extension of the material for the spring festival and a somewhat more formal type of drama. These two plays printed as one by Copland suggest the use of several short plays in succession to lengthen and elaborate the dramatic performance. Jackson, who seems to have witnessed performances of Robin Hood plays about the middle of the eighteenth century, testifies to the use of a series of plays.²

Several rather generalized early references to festival pageantry raise the question whether formal drama other than mystery and miracle plays may not have been known in England from the thirteenth century in folk festivals. Thus Grosseteste in an order of

¹ Brit. Museum Add. MS 24546. Somersetshire, of course, borders on the Cotswold Hills, and this mummers' play may be a traditional relic of the Cotswold pastorals. The only other possible folk-pastoral known to me is the folk-song “Oh! Shepherd, Oh! Shepherd, will you come home,” which is a pure dialogue and has the structure of old dance carols. Miss Gilchrist, *Journal of Folk Song Soc.*, III, 122-25, conjectures that it may have been a singing game. A Scotch version is given in Herd, *Scottish Songs*, II, 182-83.

² *History of the Scottish Stage*, p. 412. Jackson mentions plays on the Sheriff of Nottingham, the robbery of the Bishop of Hereford, the contest with the Pindar of Wakefield, and “many other exploits.” A version of the first is preserved from the fifteenth century. Copland printed *Robin Hood and Friar Tuck* and *Robin Hood and the Potter*. In *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* (IV, 2) Munday speaks of “How Greenleaf robb'd the Shrieve of Nottingham.”

about 1244 declares: "Faciunt etiam, ut audivimus, clerici ludos quos vocant miracula: et alios ludos quos vocant Inductionem Maii sive Autumni."¹ The fact that *ludos* in the first phrase refers to a known type of formal drama contributes to the assumption that it does in the second also. Besides the May games we have here a record of autumn games. Perhaps even the "Ludi de Rege et Regina"² forbidden in an order of 1240 were formal drama. References to "somour games" occur about 1303 in the *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 4681 and 8987). In the following passage from a fifteenth-century manuscript, if the word "pleyis" refers to regular drama, the connection suggests secular festival plays:

In[g]lond goith to noughte, *plus fecit homo viciosus*;
To lust man is broughth, *nimis est homo deliciosus*.
Goddis halydays *non observantur honeste*,
For unthryfty pleyis *in eis regnant manifeste*.³

The order of 1418 against "eny manere mommying, pleyes, enterludes, or eny oper disgisynge" at night by any "persone, of what astate, degre, or condicioun" during the Christmas period indicates both varied types of festival drama and extensive popularity among the people.⁴

So far as I have found, the first clear account of the disguisings of the people on festival occasions is furnished by a deposition defending the town of Norwich against the charge of having raised an insurrection at Shrovetide in 1443:

And wher that it was so that on John Gladman of Norwich which was ever and at this oure is a man of sad disposicion and true and fethful to God and to the King, of disporte as is and ever hath ben accustomed in ony Cite or Burgh through al this reame on fastyngong tuesday made a disporte w^t his neighbourghs having his hors trapped with tyneseyle and otherwyse dysgysyn things crowned as King of Kristmesse in token that all merthe shuld end with ye twelve monthes of ye yer, afore hym eche moneth dysgysd

¹ Chambers, I, 91.

² Chambers, I, 91. The king and queen of seasonal festivals may, I think, be presumed to have had a part in the drama represented. Considerable evidence for this I shall give in another study. Here I may refer to the integral part played by the king in the wooing drama as shown in the Ambleforth mummers' play published by C. J. Sharp in *Sword Dances of Northern England*, Part III.

³ Harl. MS 536 (another copy in 941). Quoted by Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, Percy Soc., p. 45; and by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 33. The passage suggests Stubbes' famous attack on May games.

⁴ Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 669.

after ye seson yerof, and Lenten cladde in white with redde herrings skinnest¹ and his hors trapped with oyster shelles after him in token y^t sadnesse and abstinence of merth shulde followe and an holy tyme; and so rode in diuerse stretes of ye Cite w^t other peple w^t hym disgysed making merthe and disporte and pleyes.²

It is to be noted, first, that in this passage the use of the words "merthe," "disporte," and "pleyes" for types of pastimes implies that the word plays was used with some regard to its distinction from the less dramatic mirth and disport; and, secondly, that the antiquity and universality of such pastimes in England are specifically declared here. It was simply the incursion of this celebration into politics which caused a record of it to be preserved. Indeed, it appears that a performance either among the people or at court was likely to be noted by chroniclers and literary men only in the vaguest way if at all, except for its political bearing or serious import. Thus, in May games of Suffolk in 1537, there was a play "of a king how he should rule his realm," in which Husbandry attacked gentlemen.³ It is noticeable that of the many plays given at the court of Henry VIII, except in the case of elaborate disguisings, the only plays mentioned by Hall or others with any hint of their nature are two of Plautus and a number of political allegories.

The symbolic figures in the disguising at Norwich suggest a long line of dramatic affiliations. Such figures as Lent and the Months, not unlike those of the allegory of the time but used for quaintness or beauty, occur frequently in the various countries of Europe.⁴ In

¹ The later names for clowns, Pickleherring, Stockfish, etc.—symbolizing the spirit of Shrovetide farces rather than seasonal romances, however—may be presumed, I think, to have been derived from figures in such disguisings as this. Dunbar's *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* gives evidence of the existence of Shrovetide disguised dances in Scotland around 1500. Possibly farces like those of the German *Fastnachtspiele* were used for introducing these dances.

² *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. Hudson and Tingey, I, 345, 346. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norwich*, I, 155, has a number of variations. Cf. Hudson, pp. lxxxix and xc, for a discussion of date. Some details of the other disguises and the number of participants on this occasion are given by Blomefield on pp. 149, 150.

³ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, XII, 557, 585; *Library*, 1913, p. 407. Cf. *Hist. MSS Com.*, III, 57, for an attack on the Earl of Lincoln in a play in 1610 "upon a Maypole green."

⁴ Cf. Creizenach, I, 461 ff. for various debates of this type as drama in Europe at an early period; and Hanford, "Classical Eclogue and Mediaeval Debate," *Romanic Review*, II, 16 ff. and 129 ff. for such debates as the ninth-century *Rosae Liliique Certamen* and Latin, Italian, and French forms of the debate of the Rose and Violet. What was the exact nature of the *Vinchenet et Rosette, Peu de grains et largement eau*, etc., presented at Amiens in 1481 (Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1) I have not been able to learn.

England the development of drama from such disguisings as that of 1443 is indicated in the fifteenth century by debates between Summer and Winter, and Holly and Ivy.¹ Debates on Summer and Winter were numerous on the Continent from early in the Middle Ages, and have descended in England and other countries of Europe in mummers' plays.² Holly and Ivy seem to have been used frequently in the period before the Renaissance as symbols of rival groups of celebrants,³ and probably had some correspondence to such symbols as the Flower and the Leaf. Records of pageantry show the prevalence of similar motives. *A balade by Lydgate sente . . . to þe Shirreves of London . . . vponne Mayes daye at Buss-hopes wode at an honorable dyner* was probably an explanation of a pageant in which the figures referred to appeared.⁴ In the "balade" Flora sends her daughter Veere, who breaks the might of Winter. Lady May is found in a number of pageants and tourneys in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. In a long speech preserved from such a rôle, she refers to Dame Summer and her sister June.⁵ Cornish's pastime on September 3, 1519, called for "two children who played Summer and Lust," "a child that played the Moon," and others who played the Sun, Winter, Wind, and Rain.⁶ Heywood's *Play of the Weather* is related to the type.⁷ A notable later instance of formal drama of this kind is found in Nashe's *Summer's Last*

¹ Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 31 ff.; Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, pp. 113 ff.

² Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, "The Dying God," pp. 254 ff., and Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, pp. 234 ff. Cf. for mediaeval dialogues, Hanford, *loc. cit.*; Creizenach, I, 463 f.; and Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au Moyen-Age*, 37 ff. The oldest of these dialogues, *Conflictus veris et hiemis*, dates from about 800. Several are formal dramas.

³ Chambers, I, 251; *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 431. A modern survival on Valentine Day is recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIX (1779), 137. It is not improbable that extensive spring festivals had many a dramatic debate of flowers and plants as well as of symbols of the seasons. The folk-belief in the virtues of various herbs and flowers, and the extensive use of garlands, May branches, and foliage in costumes for the spring ritual would naturally lead to the use of contrasted plant symbols in drama or pageantry drawn from folk-customs and representing the contest as the great symbol of the change of seasons.

⁴ Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 14, note, and Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, Percy Soc., II, 240 ff.

⁵ Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34. Further examples of such symbolism in pageants are to be found in Brotanek; Feuillerat, *Documents of the Revels*; Machyn's *Diary*; etc.

⁶ *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, III, 1550. Cf. Creizenach, III, 492, 493, for Everaert's play of 1525 in which Wind and Rain appeared.

⁷ Cf. Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Kom.*, p. 12, for Ayre's *Von dreien bösen Weibern*, where two women debate about Rain and Sunshine.

Will and Testament, 1592. Here symbols of seasons, mythological figures, and sundry festival groups appear—Ver in green moss, Summer in a wheaten crown, Autumn in tawny leaves, Vertumnus, Winter, Backwinter, Christmas, Solstitium like a hermit, Sol richly attired, Harvest with a scythe, Orion like a hunter, Bacchus in ivy on an ass, satyrs, wood nymphs, morris dancers, shepherds, reapers, hunters, clowns, and maids. Festival songs for morris dances in May, harvest homes, etc., relieve the numerous debates of the seasons in Nashe's quaint and picturesque satire.

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[*To be concluded*]